

'We Can Get Through the Iron Curtain'

WASHINGTON.

THERE is only one real way to end the threat of aggression. That is by creating a world in which everyday people will refuse to carry out an aggressor's designs. Men, not planes or bombs, represent the heart problem of war and peace. Military and economic strength become meaningful only when translated into human strength. Not all the weapons in our arsenals will suffice to defend our liberties unless our soldiers are willing to fight and, if necessary, die. By the same token a dictator needs the help of vast numbers of followers willing to abet plans for conquest. There would be no problem of Soviet aggression if the men of Russia's armed forces refused to fight in an unjust war.

In other words, men are the real stakes of diplomacy. The only possible way to secure a world of true peace and justice is by taking men

BRIEN McMAHON, Democratic Senator from Connecticut, is chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

Senator McMahon says that we have at hand the means for an effective 'truth campaign.'

By **BRIEN McMAHON**

away from Stalin and the Cominform leaders and winning them over to our side.

THREE facts are fundamental in this struggle for the hearts and loyalties of men.

Fact one is that behind the Iron Curtain untold millions now actually believe the monstrous calumnies of the Politburo; they actually think that Stalin stands for peace and we stand for war. It is hard for Americans to imagine such a topsy-turvy interpretation of world history. But is this really very surprising? The Russian and Chinese and Hungarian people hear that we devote billions to armaments. And because of the Iron Curtain they are kept from learning that we harbor no aggressive designs against any nation. Many of the Com-

munist soldiers now fighting in Korea actually believe themselves to be warriors in a fight against American imperialism.

Fact two is that the Iron Curtain conceals profound discontent among the ordinary peoples of the Soviet empire. The massive purges that periodically sweep through party ranks give evidence of widespread unrest even among those who have accepted the tenets of Marx and Lenin. The fourteen million Russians now in slave labor camps are grim proof of the struggle for liberty which goes on even in the very heart of the Politburo's domain.

Fact three is that we have it within our power to pierce the Iron Curtain with a bold and constructive program for peace—a program that can convert the peoples of the Soviet em-

pire into actual or potential allies. Even our present very modest information program is reaching millions in the Soviet Union and its satellite states. The Kremlin's all-out jamming campaign against Voice of America broadcasts is in itself proof of the infectiousness of our idea of liberty—and Stalin's mortal fear of the truth.

IT is paradoxical that those who have spoken most loudly about the world's misunderstanding of American motives are frequently the same people who have obstructed every effort to make the truth about ourselves known. Truth, we should know by now, is not self-propagating. The Kremlin is laboring around the clock to spread lies; we cannot counteract this campaign with part-time and half-hearted measures. Annually this country spends over \$30,000,000 to promote the sale of cosmetics. But in 1950, the year of Communist aggression in Korea and the spurious but unprecedentedly successful Stockholm Petition, we spent hardly more on the Voice of America than on ad- (Continued on Page 23)

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vertising lipstick or face powder.

It will take large outlays of money to run a campaign of truth comparable in magnitude to the Soviet's campaign of lies. The \$115,000,000 that the State Department has recently requested for its information program is by no means excessive. I think, in fact, that this sum is far too small.

THE technical problem of getting our message through the Iron Curtain is as challenging as any ever faced by experts in mass communication. We are dealing with an enemy who will stop at nothing to keep the truth from the Russian and satellite peoples. Should we, for instance, attempt to send leaflet-carrying balloons behind the Iron Curtain the Kremlin might employ hideous techniques to turn this campaign to its own advantage. It might have trusted party members booby-trap captured balloons and then turn these loose on an unsuspecting populace. It might manufacture copies of our balloons and impregnate these imitations with toxic agents.

Much, however, can be done. Major improvements in our Voice of America transmission facilities are already in prospect. Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—a large part of it necessarily classified—has revealed that the coming months will see a far higher proportion of our programs getting through the Soviet's jamming apparatus.

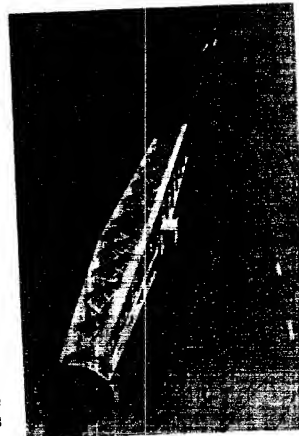
Yet I do not believe we can be content with this. I think we should immediately ask the United Nations to assert its right to operate its own radio station within the Soviet Union. I am not naive enough to suppose that Stalin will rush to accept such a proposal. However, it is eminently just, and fair-minded men will realize this. If it is rejected, it will glaringly expose the sham and duplicity of Vishinsky's utterances.

GETTING our radio signals into the Communist heartland is of little use if our potential audience does not have the means of receiving them. The great majority of the Iron Curtain peoples do not now own radios. But experts say that simple portable radios capable of picking up Voice programs can be made for as little as \$2.

If this can be done, I would propose manufacturing such sets by the million and shipping them to distribution depots in hundreds of cities around the border of Stalin's empire. The Russian and satellite people are irresistibly attracted by American consumer goods and I am sure that they would find ways of bringing these radios into their homes.

People-to-people contact is the best possible antidote

for misunderstanding. Those American soldiers who met the Soviet armies on the Elbe in 1945 will remember how continuing association gradually turned the distrust of many of the Russian soldiers into friendship. The Red Army troops could not believe their eyes when they found that even war-ravaged Europe was more prosperous than their motherland. Great numbers were so exhilarated by this first taste of the heady wine of liberty that they moved heaven and earth to keep from returning to the thought control and secret police of the Soviet empire. Acquaintance with free men was so corrupting, in fact, that the Kremlin prevented



A relaying transmitter for the "Voice of America" at Munich.

mass desertions only by hurriedly rotating its occupation troops home.

I BELIEVE that the men of our veterans' organizations should now formally—and repeatedly—ask Stalin to let them again meet face to face with Soviet veterans—with the rank and file Russians who fought so valiantly against the legions of nazism. Let us see if Stalin will allow these men to visit in our cities and towns, and if he will allow our veterans in Russian homes. So, also, might our trade unions now request that the Kremlin allow American machinists and carpenters to visit the mills and homes of Stalingrad and Kiev, and that, in turn, Soviet workers be permitted to see at first hand the automobiles and gardens of the typical American workers in Detroit or Omaha. Our teachers' associations might issue a similar request—imagine what would happen if Soviet educators could witness our democratic school system in action.

I am not at all sure that Stalin would comply with such requests—but I am sure that people cannot be fooled forever. If Stalin ignores such patently reasonable proposals, if he refuses to let our people speak directly with the Russian people, Soviet citizens will eventually learn the

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meaning of these refusals. No suggestion for breaching the curtain should be dismissed merely because it seems novel. I understand it is quite feasible to compile the names and addresses of a large number of Soviet citizens. I wonder whether our fraternal and professional organizations, our labor unions, our church groups and even our school children might not see fit to secure such lists and embark on a massive letter-writing campaign to the men and women of Odessa and Smolensk and Vladivostok. The Soviet censors, of course, would do their best to confiscate these letters. But such a spontaneous outpouring of sentiment from everyday Americans might well corrupt even the censors themselves.

THERE are many ways of making a censor's lot an unhappy one. It is well known that the Soviet Government makes strenuous efforts to secure almost all important American scientific journals. Soviet scientists and engineers are omnivorous readers of these publications. Our scientific and technical societies might be well advised to interlard their journals with discussions of topics such as academic freedom.

Nor should we ignore the possibility of mailing millions of mail-order catalogues to the Iron Curtain countries. Nothing can more tellingly refute lies about America's impoverishment than the consumers' wonderland contained within the pages of a Sears-Roebuck or a Montgomery Ward catalogue.

In many cases we can best reach the Russian people through Soviet nationals now living outside the U. S. S. R. Hundreds of thousands of Russian soldiers are stationed in Eastern Europe. These troops can still be reached with the printed word. There is a real opportunity to take advantage of the extraordinary desertion rate among them. At the very least, we can make sure that those men who reluctantly return to the Soviet Union carry with them the germ of the idea of freedom.

ABOVE all, we should support those brave political exiles who have risked their lives to flee their homeland and continue the fight against the Kremlin from the West. These men and women are publishing information bulletins, maintaining underground liaison with their home countries and actively aiding additional liberty-lovers to escape.

They constitute the potential "cadres of liberation." Many of them are willing to risk torture and death by clandestinely returning to Russia.

It has been suggested that we establish a University of the Free, which would serve as a focal point for the activities of these political exiles. This makes sense. Such a university, which could draw its student body from young refu-

symbolic effect. It would be a sign that the West had not abandoned the Soviet and satellite peoples to Kremlin tyranny.

The cumulative result of injections of truth into the Soviet body politic will be far greater than many of us imagine. Lacking official and overt channels for disseminating the truth, the Russian people have developed the world's most elaborate news grapevine. A rumor first heard in Moscow in the morning is repeated in Leningrad the same evening; a few days later the same story is known in Vladivostok. Only one person on a collective farm may see a resistance pamphlet, or hear a Voice of America program, but the truth he learns may eventually become known to hundreds, or even thousands of Russians.

The problem of means—how to get the ear of the Russian and satellite peoples—should not be minimized. Yet the primary problem is that of ends—the point of the message we hope to get across.

WHAT is it that we want to tell the world? Certain things seem clear. Our message must be based on the hard rock of truth. There is no place in our program for half-truths, for clever verbal forays intended merely to score some embarrassing propaganda victory against the Kremlin. It is likewise apparent that our efforts must not be negative or defensive. Vital as it is to expose Stalin's falsehoods, we must guard against endless "tis-taint" refutations of Moscow's fabrications. Nor should we dissipate our energies through an ever-changing "shotgun" type of appeal that does not really acquaint the world with the basic principles for which we stand.

Our campaign of truth must have a single theme of such motive force that it cannot fail to gain supporters. This theme must be appealing to men of all walks of life and all nations; it must be congenial equally to the ordinary Russians, the average Chinese and the rank and file Poles.

All decent men hate war and long for peace with justice—they want freedom from the fear of mass annihilation. All men want relief from poverty and disease—they want an end to the crushing burden of armaments expenditures; they would rejoice if men could instead join in a common fight against human wretchedness. The everyday peoples behind the Iron Curtain wish to live and let live; not to kill and be killed.

THE Kremlin has brilliantly recognized — and unscrupulously exploited — these elementary truths. Although it is solely Communist imperialism that threatens the peace, the Kremlin has nevertheless posed as the prime defender of the peace. Although Stalin has ruthlessly stripped the satellite nations of their industries and resources, he claims

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NEW YORK TIMES - Editorial 24 June 1951

MR. MALIK PROPOSES

Speaking with the voice of Deputy Foreign Minister Jacob A. Malik, Russia has seized the approaching first anniversary of the Korean War to broadcast to the world what she describes as a peace proposal. Since the Soviets have so long used words in a sense exactly opposite to their real meaning it is natural that this utterance should be received with caution. Russian Communist words have proved poor currency. If Russia were willing to bring forth deeds for peace—and this has been within her power every day during the past bitter year—they would be welcomed.

To what extent does Mr. Malik's statement indicate a change of heart? It opens with the familiar attack on "the ruling circles in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France." It cites the declarations of the Government of the Soviet Union that the policy of mutual defense adopted by the Western Powers "is profoundly vicious, will inevitably lead to fresh international conflicts, and contains within itself the seeds of a new world war." It condemns the deputy foreign ministers of the United States, Britain and France for their refusal to place the question of the Atlantic Pact on the proposed Four-Power Agenda. Defense, in short, remains, in Soviet eyes, a species of aggression.

Mr. Malik's statement alters in no particular the official Soviet line as to what happened in Korea. This line is that it was the South Koreans, egged on by the United States and its friends, who committed an aggression a year ago; that the present defense of Korea is being carried on by ourselves "and a number of other countries," not by the United Nations; that the Soviet Union and other states have made peace proposals but that "the United States has prevented" their adoption. The Soviet line still is that we have "seized" Formosa. And Mr. Malik adds another lie, a somewhat startling one in view of the testimony recently brought out at great length during the Senate committee hearings in Washington. He states that "the seizure of Formosa and the bombing of Chinese territory provide irrefutable evidence of the United States endeavor to extend the war in the Far East." Moscow may not know better than this, but Mr. Malik certainly does.

From these points Mr. Malik passes to a discussion of the "peaceful" policies of Russia and her friends. "The Soviet Union," he says, "threatens no one; it has not and cannot have any aggressive plans whatsoever." Because Russia has refused to follow "a policy of competition in armaments and armed forces," Mr. Malik would have us believe, she has been able to achieve "a considerable rise in her population's standard of living."

With this basis and background Mr. Malik goes on to assure us that "the Soviet Union bases its policy on the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, socialism and capitalism." Nobody in the Western World would quarrel with this doctrine, if only we could believe that Russia meant it. The trouble is that the authentic Communist voice has always said just the contrary and Russian and other Communist countries have acted as though just the contrary were true.

Then Mr. Malik comes to the heart of the matter—to the things Russia wants to say to the world at this moment. In his final few hundred words he declares that "the United Nations is being transformed more and more into an instrument of war" and proposes "a peaceful settlement of the Korean question." He would have

cease-fire agreement and "an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the Thirty-eighth Parallel."

The next few days—perhaps even the next few hours—may provide us with some guide as to the real meaning of this speech at this time. And the real meaning must lie not in any strained interpretation of words but in what Moscow intends to do, or not to do, or—above all—to stop doing. The democratic nations of the Western World long for peace. They are not, and cannot become, aggressive. But having set their hands to halt the aggressor, having pledged their aid to the victims of aggression, having stated their principles, they must insist on a true and honorable peace. Anything less would be merely a breeder of new and worse wars.